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CONTENTS, the copyright of which remains in each case with the author,  
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A.M.BOWIE(The Queen's College, Oxford): <i>The end of Sophocles' Ajax</i>	114-115
J.ELLIS JONES(Bangor): <i>Berlin conference on 'Living in the Classical City'</i>	115-118
W.S.WATT(Aberdeen): <i>Notes on Justin</i>	118-119
D.B.HOYOS(Sydney): <i>The Carthaginian and Roman commanders in 264: who was who.</i>	120-122
J.L.CREED(Lancaster): <i>Aristotle and the veto: a puzzle in the Politics (4.14 1298b34-41)</i>	122-123
ROBERT PARKER(Oriel College, Oxford): <i>A note on Juvenal, Satire 1.17-18</i>	123
DUNCAN F.KENNEDY(Liverpool): <i>Shades of meaning: Virgil, Eclogue 10.75-77</i>	124
RICHARD J.EVANS(Bancroft's School, Woodford Green, Essex): <i>The Gellius of Cicero's pro Sestio.</i>	124-126
Review: M.J.ALDEN(The Queen's University, Belfast)	126-127
W.D.Taylor, E.B.French, K.A.Wardle (Eds.), <i>Well Built Mycenae. The Helleno-British Excavations Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae 1959-1969. Fascicule 1, W.D.Taylor, The Excavations, Warminster, Aris &amp; Phillips, 1981. Paper, pp.[6] + 63 + 91 in microfiche pag paginated 101-192, 2 folding plans tipped in as pp.5-6 &amp; after p.[64]. £8.50 (£5.50 on standing order). ISBN 0 85668 196 2</i>	
J.G.MACQUEEN(Bristol): <i>Theocritus 7.47: a suggestion</i>	128
PAMELA M.HUBY(Liverpool): <i>Averroes as evidence for the text of Aristotle's de anima</i>	128

This is not, alas, a double number of *LCM* as promised (but the Editor must learn to be as ware of rash promises as are politicians): that evaporated in the summer heat-wave - not, he hastens to assure readers, because he succumbed to temptation and abandoned all responsibilities to bask in the unaccustomed sun, but because, like all good academics, he devoted himself to his private researches, and produced 15,000 words (but that only equals one number of *LCM* give or take a thousand) on, of all things *Roman Spirituality*, as a contribution to the volume on *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality* edited by the quondam Gladstone Professor of Greek at Liverpool, A.H.Armstrong, as one of the 25 (no less!) of *An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest*, called *World Spirituality* and to be published by the Crossroad Publishing Company in New York in 1984 - but the date will no doubt be put back. Readers of *LCM* and those who know him may be surprised to find him in such company, as a result of *pietas et pecunia*, less so perhaps to learn that among the 'other duties' he hinted at last month were those of the Public Orator of Liverpool University, when he had the particular pleasure of presenting Sir Kenneth Dover.

That duty was a consequence, though not an automatic consequence, of the resignation of the last Gladstone Professor of Greek at Liverpool, A.A.Long, who has taken up a post at the University of California at Berkeley. Writing in *The Times* of September 7, 1983, another academic changing posts wrote that: 'My former colleagues heaved an audible sigh of relief at my going, not, I like to think, because they were glad to see the back of me, but because it meant my post could be "frozen" and they were less likely to be made redundant'. Those were certainly not the sentiments of the surviving members of this Department of Greek, now reduced to two, a part-timer, and some teaching assistance, and deprived of the prestige and political clout of a Chair, which is indeed "frozen" for the time being, though it is to be looked at again in two years time. Meanwhile a Head of Department is to be chosen from within the Department (the field is hardly large!) and the Editor may be able to announce it next month, hoping at least that whoever it may be will be as supportive of *LCM* as was Tony Long, and will not, as is his right, order it to cease publication, as a waste of staff time.

The Editor has before now deplored the lack of information about what is happening in Departments of Classics in this country and elsewhere, but is scrupulous to maintain the proprieties of confidentiality. Future prospects look even more bleak now that the Minister, as reported in some detail in *The Sunday Times* of September 11, 1983, under the headline 'Colleges face new cost cuts', wants the University Grants Committee to 'consider spending reductions of five to 10 per cent per student by the end of the decade and a further five per cent by 1995'. A shift to vocationally relevant courses, the two-year degree, and the designation of 'centres of excellence' are all also envisaged, and the reporter sees the implication that 'many dons [for journalists all University Teachers are dons and not only, as properly, those at Oxford and Cambridge] would have to spend more time teaching and less on their cherished research activities'. The Editor does not like all the implications of 'cherished' while recognizing that in popular thought the word 'research' does seem to carry the formulaic epithet 'useless', and is rather glad he spent the summer on some while he still could.

Bleak words for a 'back to school' number - but the world is as it is, and classical scholars should be the last to indulge the fatal luxury of believing that it is otherwise, and how they would prefer it to be.

The study of Sophocles has much benefitted of late by the publication of two very different but valuable works, R.P. Winnington-Ingram's *Sophocles, an interpretation* (Cambridge, CUP, 1980) and C. Segal's *Tragedy and Civilization: an interpretation of Sophocles* (London, Harvard UP, 1981). In a manner reminiscent of Ajax himself, this note wishes ungratefully to repay that benefit by taking issue with a statement from each book. These are Winnington-Ingram's claim that in 1120ff. 'the old quarrel of the bowman and the hoplite is staggeringly irrelevant to the tragic issue' (p.64; cf. in general, ch.3 'The burial of Ajax'), and Segal's that at the end Ajax is reintegrated into the society from which he was estranged by his slaughter of the animals (cf. esp. pp. 142-6, 150f.).

The burial, for Segal, acts as a 'rite of reintegration' (p.141): 'Ajax receives the permanence he strove for by being taken into the community which he abandoned, protected by those whom he left behind' (p.143). He notes that 'the contrast between the harsh "blowing" of those "warm pipes" of Ajax' wound (1411-12) and the sweet sound of flutes at the banquet (1202) keep Ajax fixed to the end in the savage realm "outside"' (p.146). But does the burial alter this? Does not Ajax remain as much outside, as much a marginal figure as a result of this rite? In the first part of the play, Ajax's marginality can be clearly seen. His force is stationed on the *τάξις ἐσχατή* (4), which 'marks the ambiguity of Ajax' position between human and natural world ... and implies his ambiguous relation to the power structure of the Greek armada' (p.122). He often fights alone (467, 1276, 1283; cf. 29, 47, 254 of the slaughter). He is *ἄνθρωπος* (205, 548, 885, 930), as if of nature rather than civilization. He is married not to a free-born Greek woman, but to a Phrygian slave (211, 489; cf. 487ff.). Communication in language with his fellow mortals is not his strong point, and there is little wonder that he lost Achilles's arms to Odysseus, 'the social man par excellence ... an adept manipulator of language' (cf. Segal pp.133-8). In general, he seems to be a representative of the old world of the Homeric hero, somewhat out of place in a world where, ostensibly at least, more cooperative virtues are valued (cf. Winnington-Ingram pp. 15ff., 69ff. on the complex relation between 'Homeric' and 'modern' moralities and ideas in the play). More specifically, the killing of the animals is depicted in a manner that emphasizes his unusual position. He hunts what are domestic animals (64, 93, 297, 407), and then sacrifices these hunted beasts (219f., 235, 299), thus going against the normal practice in each case. The slaughter is carried out with a sword that not only belonged to an enemy, but was made by a *δουλοποιὸς ἄνθρωπος* (1035), another contradiction. Overall, he is set apart, and this is especially so after the award of the arms (cf. 41, 1239, 1336).

One may put this another way: Ajax is given the characteristics of a common type of mythical figure, the youth on the verge of manhood, the 'ephebe'. P. Vidal-Naquet has demonstrated the importance of this type for the *Philoctetes* (cf. 'Le Philoctète de Sophocle et l'éphébie' in J.-P. Vernant & P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, Paris, Maspero, 1972, pp.159ff.), and we can show that not a few other dramas, tragic and comic, make significant use of it. In myths (and in the *krypteia* undergone by an elite of Spartan youths, cf. P. Vidal-Naquet, 'The Black Hunter and the origin of the Athenian *ephebeia*' in R.L. Gordon ed., *Myth, Religion and Society*, Cambridge, CUP, 1981, pp.147ff.), the ephebe is the 'symmetrical opposite' of the hoplite, and a list of his characteristics will show the parallels with Ajax (cf. Vidal-Naquet, 'Black Hunter' p.154). He is unarmed or armed only with a dagger (cf. perhaps Ajax's sword, the only weapon he takes for the slaughter at 286; his departure is not that of a hoplite, as Tecmessa points out). He operates alone rather than in a phalanx (on Ajax's loneliness, see last paragraph), and in winter rather than summer (cf. the important storm imagery surrounding Ajax, 207, 257f., 351-3; W.B. Stanford, *Sophocles Ajax*, London, Macmillan, 1963, pp.275f., Winnington-Ingram pp.50f.). He employs cunning (cf. 47, 1245), including fighting at night (cf. 21, 47, 141 etc.; again, this is fundamental imagery, cf. Stanford, loc.cit.). He moves on marginal territory, like mountains and frontiers (Ajax attacks sheep that have not yet been distributed round the community (54) and which are in the hands of shepherds, men of the outlying regions (cf. e.g. Segal p.31). Indeed, Athena's line 47

*νύκτωρ ἐφ' ἡμῶς δόλιος ἀρμόεται μόνος*

is an admirable description of the ephebe. Sophocles seems to be using the characteristics of the ephebe, the man not yet integrated into adult society, to indicate the way that *Ἄλκιος ἀνδρῶν* (19) loses his status as defender of the army (cf. 1266ff.), his hoplite status. Is the transfer of his hoplite shield to his son (574ff.) the final symbol of this?

Where Segal sees the burial as the reintegration of Ajax, a similar structuralist method can be used to suggest that Ajax's marginality continues after his death, and is actually reaffirmed by the burial. Firstly, it takes place not in a civilized or communal place, but on the sea-shore - a classic 'marginal' area - which is not only hostile (819), desolate (657, 1064) and inhabited by sea-birds and dogs (830, 1065), but also so far removed from men that a complete search to the east and west almost fails to discover it (866ff., cf. 805f.). Segal comments: 'once the action leaves the setting by the tents, it never returns there. Friends and foes alike leave the camp for the desolate place of Ajax' suicide. But, in another inversion of civilized and savage space, that body ... becomes ... a crucial point for the definition of civilization' (p.127). I cannot accept this view of the scenes with Menelaus, Agamemnon, Odysseus and Teucer, and I am not sure how many visitors he has in mind (he refers, in footnote 52, to Eurysaces *μόνος παρὰ σκηναῖσιν*, at 985), but surely the important point here is that the representatives of the army, the community, leave before the burial. It is family ties that are involved (as Segal in fact notes), not those of the broader community. The two leaders are absent, having left far from reconciled to Ajax and his behaviour, and so is Odysseus, the great mediator of the play, a speaker and a warrior, one who puts a humane view-point against the hard line of men and goddess, and who is characterized both as a man of culture and in 'ephebic' terms (cf.

Athena's opening lines and Segal p.131). Teucer will allow him and anyone else as a spectator (1396f.), but spectators of a rite were very different from those actually participating. 115

Who is present at the burial is as important as who is absent. There is the chorus, wishing to be away from the expedition and in their home lands. The war, as they say in the last stasimon, has deprived them of the traditional sympotic activities of aristocratic man; does this symbolize their separation from normal social relations, made worse by the loss of their leader? In any case, Ajax's actions have isolated the Salaminians from the rest of the army. Next, there is the child, whom Ajax specifically says has as yet no part in the adult world (552ff.). Tecmessa is a woman, a foreigner and a slave - a concubine rather than a wife -, all of which would distance her from the political and religious life of a Greek community. Teucer, 'an Ajax-substitute - and a poor one' (Winnington-Ingram p.61), is similarly marginal. He refers to himself as a νόθος (1013), and as a slave (1289), in response to Agamemnon's repeated taunts about his birth from an αἰχμαλωτὶς (1228, 1235, 1258ff.). He is accused of having a βάρο-βαρον γλώσσαν (1263), which the Greek king affects not to understand: he should get a free proxy to speak for him (1259ff.). Like Ajax, he is depicted as a hunter (564 τηλωδὸς οἶχνεῖ, δυσμενῶν θήραν ἔχων, cf. 343 λεηλατήσῃ: 'the *Iliad* glances at such predatory expeditions', Jebb ad loc.), operating in the mountains (720). Finally, and this brings us to Winnington-Ingram's point, Menelaus derides him for being an archer rather than a hoplite (1120ff.). This is not an irrelevance in the tragedy, but fits into this sequence by drawing attention to Teucer's status outside the group of hoplites, a status that proves disastrous for himself and, more particularly, for Ajax. The 'hoplites' Menelaus and Agamemnon (1123) concern themselves, however questionably, with the cooperative virtues and the governance of the state in ways that Teucer and Ajax are incapable of accepting (note Menelaus's use of πόλις 1073, 1082 and of δημότην 1071; on these speeches, cf. Winnington-Ingram pp.62ff.).

The circumstances of Ajax's burial seem to me to suggest that he remains isolated even in death. He has moved from the darkness of night and of the tent to the darkness of Hades; he is buried on a far sea-shore, not in a city or even camp; he is attended at the end only by his family and closest dependents, who are characterized as young children, slaves, foreigners and archer-hunters, whilst the adult community is forbidden to draw near. There is no reintegration into a community.

That he should be so isolated is not surprising, since, in Greek religion, heroes were not neatly integrated in the community. To borrow once again a phrase of Segal's, 'the hero stands at the point where the divine and human spheres intersect, where the separation between them becomes difficult and mysterious' (p.8). Vital as he is to his community, the hero is always set apart from it by the force of his anger or suffering, his opposition to the gods and his almost divine streak: 'to the ancient Greek mind there seems to have been something almost divine in passionate self-esteem', as B.M.W.Knox says after telling the tale of 'the last of the heroes', Cleomedes of Astypalaea (another victim of the judges at a contest: *The Heroic Temper*, London, CUP, 1964, p.57; see in general pp.55ff., and A.Brelch, *Gli Eroi Greci*, Rome, 1958, and G.Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, London, Johns Hopkins UP, 1979, pp.67ff.). The need to worship them thus separates them from ordinary mortals. Ajax can never be fully reintegrated, and hence the continued μέλαν μένος (1412f.): he has at last found the permanence he sought but which, from the first word of the play, has been attributed only to divine beings.

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J.ELLIS JONES(Bangor): *Berlin conference on 'Living in the Classical City'*

LCM 8.8(Oct.1983), 115-118

This report on the German Archaeological Institute's second Symposium on *Wohnen in der klassischen Polis* at Berlin has been submitted by the only British participant in the hope that it may be of some interest to British readers, and in order to draw their attention to the progress of researches of Greek, Turkish, German and Austrian colleagues in this field and to plans for forthcoming publications

The Symposium was held at the German Archaeological Institute (D.A.I) in Berlin from 21st to 23rd April 1982 and was attended by 27 invited contributors, with a few more attending to listen and take part in discussions. Three days were fully devoted to brief accounts of recent house and city excavations and some general treatments of related themes. The D.A.I. itself has an ambitious field and study project, directed by its architect-archaeologists, W.Hoepfner and E.-L.Schwandner the organizers of the Symposium; their work involves the re-study of the city-plan and houses of Priene and the excavation and close study of several other town and house sites, and the publication, in parts and with contributions from many others, of a general review of town planning with special emphasis on domestic architecture. Their progress report formed an introduction to the first session.

That session dealt mainly with extra-mural and countryside aspects. W.Lambrinadakis (Athen University) reported the results of the clearance of several so-called 'Shepherds' crofts' on the high plateaus of the island of Chios; J.E.Jones (U.C.N.W., Bangor) gave an illustrated summary of work on Attic farmhouses and on surface mine works of the Laurion area; and Ph.Zaphiropoulou (Ephor of the Cyclades) described the excavation of a hillside farmhouse at Melanes on Naxos. Mrs A.Peschlow (D.A.I., Berlin) discussed the history of city and territorial limits in southern Ionia and E.Akurgal (Ankara) described a range of recently excavated classical and Hellenistic houses in various parts of Ionia.

The afternoon session was devoted to sites in north-east Greece. There were descriptions by Mrs M.Sigidanou (Ephor, Pella) of the Hellenistic houses at Pella, capital of Macedonia, and

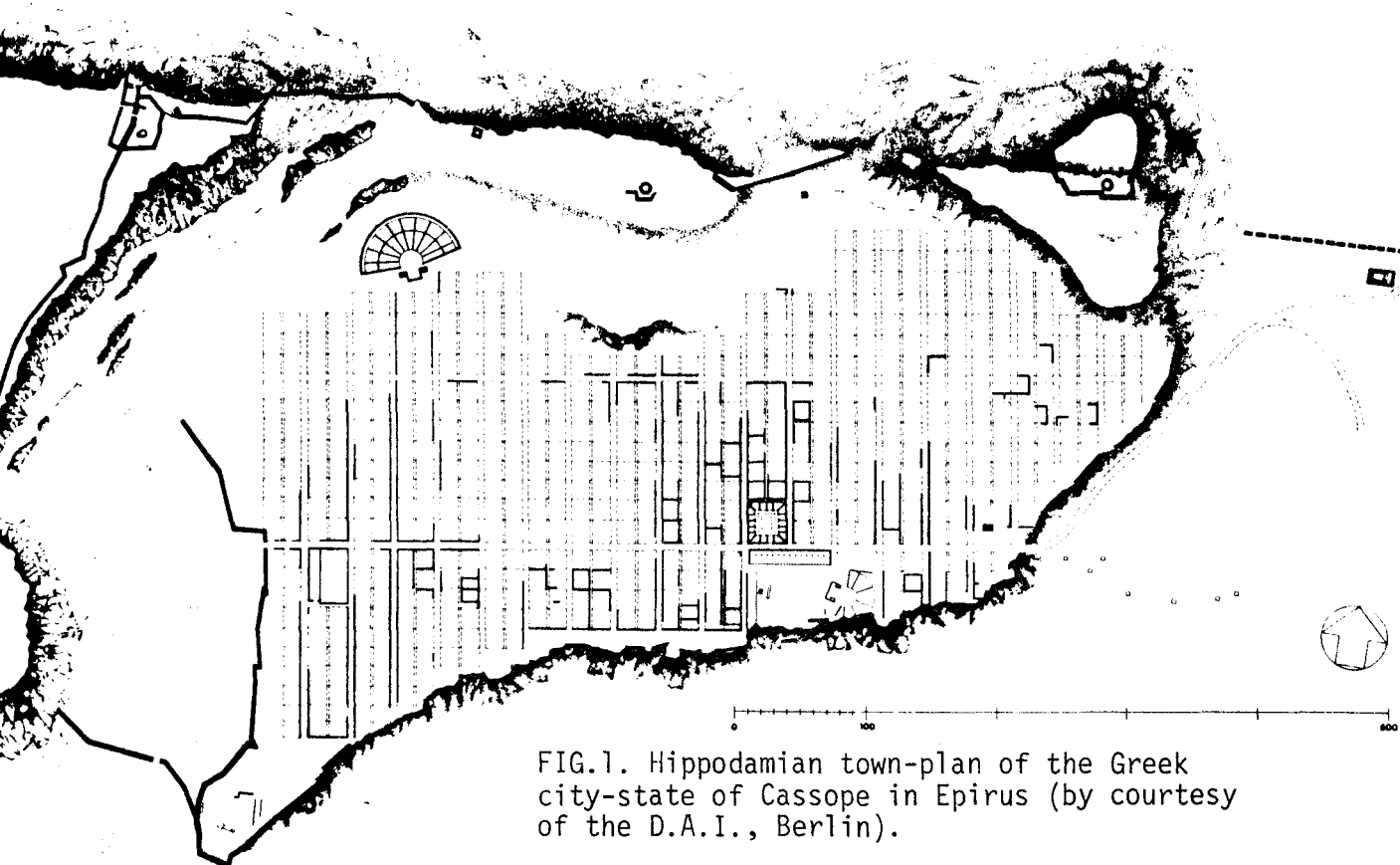
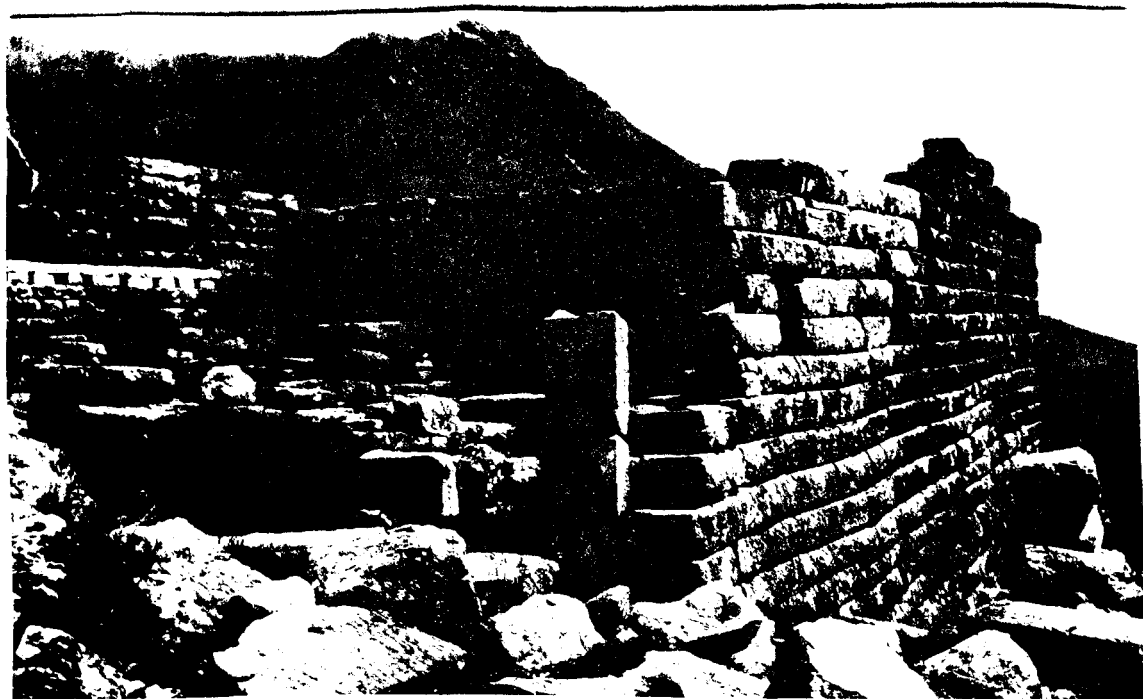


FIG.2. The late classical town-house (House no.1) of Ammotropos in Epirus; a view from the north-west with entrance in the N.W. corner (by courtesy of the D.A.I., Berlin).



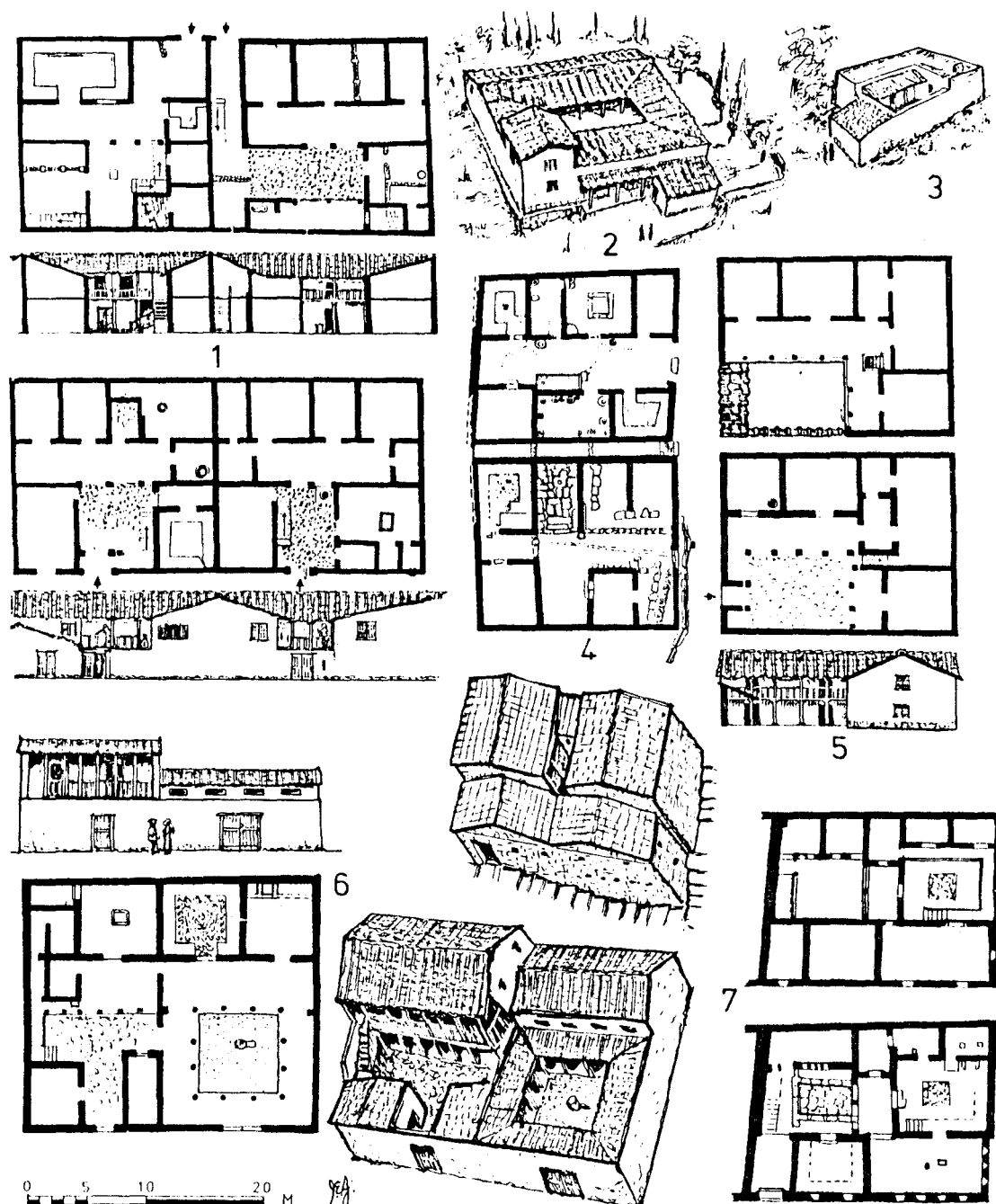


FIG.3 Some plans and reconstructions of classical houses.

1. Four houses at Olynthus, ground plans and elevations. 2. The Vari farmhouse in Attica. 3. A small cottage near Vari. 4. Kallipolis, ground plans of two houses. 5. Seuthopolis, Thrace, upper and ground floor plans and elevations of the pastas house. 6. Maroneia, Thrace, restored plan, elevation, and reconstruction of a classical house. 7. Ammotopos, Epirus, reconstruction view, upper and ground floor plans of House no.1.

by her colleague, Mrs E.Juri, of a late classical house at the same site. Mrs Dakoronia (Athens) discussed the classical houses at Stilis near Lamia, and G.Lavas (Salonika University) described the excavation of houses at Maroneia, in Thrace, north of Thasos, and considered problems of reconstruction and typology.

On the second morning reports were given on the Greek and German researches in north-west Greece, in particular at the late classical city of Kassope in Thesprotia (one of the cities largely depopulated by Augustus to help fill his new coastal city of Nicopolis built to commemorate his victory at Actium). The session was chaired by S.Dakaris (Ioannina University) who started field work at Kassope in the 1950s and is now co-operating in joint excavations of houses there with the D.A.I.. E.-L.Schwandner (D.A.I.) described their work at House 5, which revealed several successive changes of plan and use - normal occupation in the 4th century, followed later by industrial use, with a smith's workshop and a potter's kiln inserted into its rooms. S.Dakaris also contributed a discussion of other houses at Kassope and the typology of northern Greek houses generally. J.Boessneck (Munich University) analysed the bone finds from two of the Kassope houses, recorded phase by phase, and discussed the implications for the diet and economy of the inhabitants, while Mrs M.Oikonomidou (Numismatic Museum, Athens) discussed the coins found at Kassope as evidence for currency and circulation and inter-city contacts. Finally W.Hoepfner (D.A.I.) produced a newly made model of House 1 at Ammotopos, a fine stone structure remarkably well preserved, in places up to the eaves, and with the aid of detachable pieces considered the problems of its 'reconstruction'; Ammotopos was a small hilltop town established for strategic reasons on a route in southern Epirus, and has several well preserved structures (see Hammond, *BSA* 48[1953], 135-140).

In the afternoon, a variety of sites and themes. B.Neutsch (Innsbruck) described his excavation at Elea (Velia) in southern Italy, a site which offers a useful comparison between several houses of quite different periods. Then came two papers on Delos, one by M.Kreeb (D.A.I., Rome) about the late Hellenistic houses as examples of a continuity from classical traditions, and the other by D.Hennig (D.A.I., Munich) on the epigraphic evidence for house rents of temple properties in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.. G.Jöhrens (D.A.I., Athens) followed with an analysis of the population levels of classical Athens and its age and class structures, and D.Wachsmuth (Free University, Berlin) ended the session with a description of religious cults of house, home, and family.

The third day brought participants down to some more 'nitty-gritty' aspects, with several papers: K.Stemmer (Free University, Berlin) on ceramic and other evidence for the simpler forms of furniture in ordinary and poorer households; F.Preisshofen (D.A.I., Berlin) on life-styles according to classical sources; W.-D.Heilmeyer (Antiken Museum, Berlin) on the treatment of wall and floor surfaces; M.Blech (D.A.I., Madrid) on the plans and functions of the Greek kitchen; Miss G.Hübner (Tübingen) on the inventory of the Hellenistic kitchen's furnishings and pots and pans; and G.Valenis (Salonika University) on hygiene and drainage in classical houses.

In the afternoon there were two papers on structural aspects of ancient houses and parallels drawn from recent vernacular architecture, that by Mrs V.Hadjimahali (Athens) on the 'Doma', the terrace and flat roof, as identified in ancient sources and remains and from modern parallels, and that by A.Petronotis (Athens) on materials and constructional techniques, illustrated by a wealth of examples drawn from traditional house forms. The working session ended with a general discussion of issues raised by individual papers and of plans for publication.

Participants were also treated to a visit to the special exhibition 'The Horses of San Marco, Venice' (coinciding with a visit by the President of Italy!) and to two 'Fests', a buffet supper at the invitation of the President of the D.A.I. on the first evening, and a dinner for departing guests laid on by the organizers on the last evening. A Symposium altogether stimulating to the intellect and enjoyable to the hedonist.

As a foretaste for English readers of the richness of new information presented, the figures accompanying this summary (on pp.116 and 117 above) illustrate a very small selection of the sites discussed.

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W.S.WATT(Aberdeen): *Notes on Justin*

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The following editions are referred to: Scheffer (1678); Jeep (1859); Ruehl (1886) Seel (ed.2, 1972). S.B. = D.R.Shackleton Bailey, *Phoenix* 34(1980), 227-236.

1.2.4. *sic primis initiis sexum mentita puer esse credita est* [sc. *Samiramis*]. *magnas deinde res gessit; quarum amplitudine ubi invidiam superatam putat, quae sit fatetur quemve simulasset.*

After the death of Ninus, king of Assyria, his widow Samiramis pretends to be her own young son in order to be accepted as ruler.

'*Vix defendas quemve*', says Jeep, and Ruehl wisely obelizes, reporting a couple of conjectures which were hardly worth mentioning. I suggest *utque* (> *que ut* > *quē ue*).

6.1.4. *hanc rem Pharnabazus apud communem regem criminatur: ut Lacedaemonios Asiam ingressos non reppulerit* [sc. *Tissaphernes*] *armis sed impensis regiis aluerit, merceturque ab eis ut differant bella quae gerant, tanquam non ad unius summam imperii detrimentum omne perveniat.*

Pharnabazus protests to king Artaxerxes about his rival Tissaphernes having made peace with the Spartans, thus leaving them free to concentrate their forces against himself; yet it would

be one and the same Persian empire which would suffer from any loss.

The manuscripts vary between *quae gerant* and *quam gerant*. The latter has more frequently been adopted, and an ellipse of *potius* has been assumed: 'that the Spartans should postpone wars rather than wage them', a sense which S.B. describes as 'drive!'. Apparently *bella* has always been taken as the object of *differant*; I suggest that a better sense is obtained by taking it as the subject: 'that there should be differences in the wars waged by the Spartans', a vigorous war against Pharnabazus, no war at all against Tissaphernes; *differant* in this sense contrasts well with *unius imperii* in the *tamquam* clause.

- 12.8.10 & 16. *exercitus omnis, non minus victoriarum numero quam laboribus fessus, lacrimis eum [sc. Alexandrum Magnum] deprecatur finem tandem bellis faceret. ... motus his tam iustis precibus velut in finem victoriae castra solito magnificentiora fieri iussit.*

In the second sentence should *victoriae* be *victoriarum*?

- 31.6.5. *itaque prima belli +condicionet+ cum cedentes suos rex [sc. Syriae Antiochus] cermeret, non non laborantibus auxilium tulit sed fugientibus se ducem praebuit.*

It is clear that *condicione* is the *paradosis*, and that the variant *congression*, although it has been universally adopted, is no more than a conjecture; if *congression*, Justin's usual word in a context like this, were original, it is difficult to believe that it was corrupted to *condicione*. The early editors unconvincingly proposed *coitione* and *conlisione*. More satisfactory, I suggest, would be *contentione*; cf. Cicero, *Sest.* 58 *magna belli contentione* *Off.* 1.90 *crebras contentiones proeliorum*.

- 33.1.1. *minore quidem rerum motu Romani Macedonicum quam Punicum bellum gesserunt, sed tanto clarius quanto nobilitate Macedones Poenos antecesserunt; quippe cum gloria Orientis domiti, tum et auxilio omnium regum iuvabantur.*

'The statement that the Macedonians in their third war against Rome were helped by "all kings" is blatantly untrue' (S.B.). Livy (42.29) lists six kings who were either on the Roman side or neutral; by contrast, Perseus could muster only two, Gentius king of Illyria and the Thracian Cotys king of the Odrysae.

It may be that Justin repeats himself just below (§3): *Perseo praeter Macedonicum invictae opinionis exercitum decennis belli sumptus a patre paratus in thesauris et horreis erat*. In that case *regum* will be a corruption of *rerum*, and the reference will be to the *domesticos* *apparatus belli* at the disposal of Perseus which are listed by Livy at 42.12.8ff. (speech of Eumenes to the Roman Senate); cf. 42.52.12 (speech of Perseus himself to his army).

- 37.2.9. *quibus rebus et insidias vitavit [sc. Mithridates] et corpus ad omnem virtutis patientiam duravit.*

*virtutis* seems to have been silently swallowed by everybody except Scheffer, who comments: 'mira locutio, etiamsi *virtutem* pro 'fortitudine' accipias; an enim *pati virtutem recte dicimur?*'; he therefore proposes to delete *virtutis* as a gloss. But it seems a very unlikely gloss. What we should expect is *laboris*, as at 37.4.2 (still of Mithridates) *exercitum quoque suum ad paren laboris patientiam cotidiana exercitatione durabat*, but *virtutis* can hardly have arisen from *laboris*. However it may well have arisen from <ad>*versitatis*, the earliest occurrence of which in this sense, according to TLL 1.847.77, is in the pseudo-Quintilian *Declamations*.

- 37.3.2. *itaque Scythas invictos antea, qui Zopyriona, Alexandri Magni ducem, cum xxx milibus armatorum deleverant, qui Cyrum, Persarum regem, cum cc milibus trucidaverant, qui Philippum, Macedonum regem, fugientem ceperant, ingenti felicitate perdomuit [sc. Mithridates]*

The *paradosis* is *fugientem o(o)eperant*. A variant, *fugacem fecerant*, is a conjecture found in the notorious manuscript C. Seel's reading, *fugientem fecerant*, is an unfortunate amalgam of the two.

The Scythians did not capture Philip. According to an earlier passage of Justin (9.2.14) Philip defeated them by a stratagem. According to a later passage (38.7.3, in a speech put into the mouth of Mithridates) Philip, like Darius before him, only just managed to get out of Scythia in flight (*aegre inde figam sibi expedisce*).

Seel reports that A.Klotz suggested a lacuna along the lines *fugientem* <paene oppresserant et opes regis> *ceperant*. But all that is necessary is the insertion of *paene* before *ceperant*.

- 38.3.11. *quam [sc. orationem] obliquam Pompeius Trogus exposuit, quoniam in Livio et in Sallustio reprehendit quod contiones directas pro sua oratione operi suo inserendo historiae modum excesserint.*

Baehrens, as reported by Ruehl, just cut out the troublesome *pro sua* (presumably as an erroneous anticipation of *operi suo*) and altered *directas* to *directa*. The latter change is convincing, but perhaps *pro sua* conceals an adjective or participle agreeing with *contiones* (*contiones directa oratione* seems bare); *expositas* is suggested by the preceding *exposuit*, but *pro*<*po*>*sitas* is palaeographically more acceptable.

- 43.4.11. *exinde Massilienses festis diebus portas claudere, vigiliis agere, stationes in muris observare, peregrinos recognoscere, curas habere, ac, veluti bellum habeant, sic urbem pacis temporibus custodire*

*curas habere*, parallel to the other infinitive phrases, seems impossibly weak. Scheffer, emending *curas* to *curae* (a conjecture already found in C) took *curae habere* as governing the other infinitives. This remains the best solution, though it has apparently been universally ignored.



D.B.HOYOS(Sydney): *The Carthaginian and Roman commanders in 264: who was who.*

LCM 8.8(Oct.1983), 120-122

Several Punic generals are named by the sources in the course of events between the battle at the River Longanus, where Hiero II of Syracuse crushed the Mamertines of Messana, and the outbreak of the First Punic War (just when that battle was fought does not matter here, though in my view it was 265 and not 269 B.C. - it could even have been 264). The general who intervened directly after the battle to save Messana from Hiero is called Hannibal by Diodorus, the only source for that item (22.13.7). The commander of the Punic garrison at Messana in 264, after the Romans responded to the Mamertine appeal for aid, was Hanno, according to Dio (frg.43.8) and Zonaras who derives from him (8.8.6 - 9.4); Zonaras also has him in charge of the fleet which impeded the crossings of C.Claudius, the military tribune. This garrison commander is nameless in Polybius, who states that when the Mamertines threw him and his force out of their city the Punic authorities executed him (1.11.5). Another Hanno, termed son of Hannibal, is named by Diodorus as leading the Punic attack on Messana after that (23.1.2).

This might all seem straightforward enough, but it has caused difficulty at times. F.Cassola supposes that there are three (not two) Hannos in the sources: garrison commander, fleet commander, besieger; but that the middle one was probably the same as the first or last (*Gruppi politici romani nel III sec. a.C.*, 1962, 207). V.La Bua thinks that the Hannibal who intervened after the Longanus was also the garrison commander: Zonaras called him Hanno through a mistaken identification with the later besieger (*Filino-Polibio Sileno-Diodoro*, 1966, 183 n.24). Neither of these views has much foundation in the extant evidence: Cassola seems merely to have misread the evidence, while La Bua's hypothesis is a small part of a highly imaginative - and unpersuasive - reconstruction of events, in which 'Hannibal' on suffering expulsion from Messana is then lynched by his troops on the possible instigation of the subordinate whom he had left in charge of the main army, etc. (op.cit. 181-3).

Still, it remains a possibility that Dio and Zonaras have named the garrison commander after the besieger. They ascribe to the former the pourparlers with the military tribune C.Claudius after a sea skirmish, and before the arrival on scene of the consul Ap.Claudius Caudex with his army (Dio frg.43.8-9; Zonaras 8.9.1-2). These discussions in Diodorus, by contrast, follow Appius' arrival at the straits (22.2.1 - a different excerpt from 23.1, but there seems no way for it to be fitted into the narrative of Diodorus before the advent of the consul, cf. 1.4). Diodorus' source is widely thought to be Philinus of Agrigentum, a contemporary of the events (see e.g. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius*, i, 1957, 62; La Bua 28; K.Meister, *Historische Kritik bei Polybios*, 1975, 140), though Timaeus has recently been proffered as a - somewhat unconvincing - alternative (F.P.Rizzo in *Miscellanea Manni*, 1980, vi.1899-1920). In any case the role of the military tribune C.Claudius has probably been much embroidered (see e.g. A.Lippold, *Orpheus* 1[1954], 155-6 & 158-61; Walbank i.61-2; La Bua 182; J.Molthagen, *Chiron* 5 [1954], 99 cf.102). If the pourparlers did occur between Hanno son of Hannibal, besieging Messana by land and sea, and Ap.Claudius Caudex the consul, but in a later tradition were transferred to the garrison commander and the military tribune, the name of the latter Punic officer must remain unknown.

Hanno it may well have been anyway: this and associated names (witness Hannibal) are tiresomely frequent in eminent Carthaginian circles in this century. Hanno or no, we should accept that there were three separate Punic officers: Hannibal, *ignotus* (? = Hanno I), and Hanno II son of Hannibal.

The consul Ap.Claudius Caudex is another kind of puzzle, for which no satisfying solution has yet been found. The *Fasti Consulares* style him C.f. Ap.n. (A.Degrassi, *Fasti Capitolini*, Paravia edition, 1957, 54). This at first sight confirms the assertions of Aulus Gellius (17.21.40) and *de vir.ill.* (37.1) that he was brother to Appius Caecus, the famous censor of 312 and consul of 307 and 295, especially as Caecus too was C.f. Ap.n. (Degrassi 48). But it is very hard to see how a consul of 264 could be brother to a man who had held the highest offices more than forty years before - and who was quite aged, as Cicero stresses, in the time of Pyrrhus (*Sen.16 grandem sane* etc.; Plutarch, *Pyrrh.*18; other sources in Münzer, *RE* 3 s.v. 'Claudius 19'). It would also be unusual for two brothers, one born within the lifetime of the other, to bear the same *praenomen*.

Münzer both accepts the alleged relationship (*RE* 3.2665-6, in stemma) and rejects it (2692, 'Claudius 102', ganz undenkbar). Cassola has doubts (183-4 with n.133, *molto difficile [sebbene non del tutto escluso]*). Few others have offered a solution, or perhaps even noticed the problem. One who did, T.Frank in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (7, 1928, 672), suggested Caudex was 'a cousin, it seems,' of Caecus; but this does not help much with the chronological gap in their offices, unless Frank meant second or third cousins, which looks unlikely. Besides, it only throws the nomenclature problem back a generation: if (first) cousins, then their fathers would have been brothers, each called Gaius.

One possibility is that Ap.Caudex' father (not Caudex himself) was cousin to Appius the Blind. The latter's father was C.Claudius Inregillensis; it could be supposed that Caudex' father, C. (Claudius), was son to a putative brother (Ap.Claudius) of Inregillensis. The result would be to make Ap.Claudius C.f. Ap.n. Caudex, cos. 264, and Ap.Claudius Ap.f. C.n. Russus, cos.268, distant cousins in the same generation (stemma B below p. ). This solution, suggested to me by the kindness of a colleague, Dr J.L.O'Neil, is also hinted at by C. and Ö.Wikander, *Opuscula Romana* 12(1979), 2.

The drawback is that the positions both of Caudex' father and of his grandfather in the family tree would be hypothesized only. There is no independent evidence of them. Of course it is conceivable that Ap.Claudius Inregillensis, father of C.Inregillensis and grandfather of Ap. Caecus, had more than one son even though we hear only of the one; and almost certainly another



son would have borne the *praenomen* Ap. (see Münzer's stemma for the prevalence of C. and Ap.). But a better solution can be found, with a more readily identifiable Ap.Claudius as grandfather to Caudex.

That is to view Appius the Blind himself as the grandfather. If so, Russus will have been uncle to Caudex. For uncle to precede nephew in the consulate by only four years (268/264) is no objection; I would be surprised if it were unique. If Caudex were Caecus' brother (as Gellius et al. have it), his accession to the consulate four years after his nephew would be, if anything, more remarkable.

Ap.Claudius Caecus *quattuor robustos filios ... regebat et caecus et senex*, according to Cicero (*Sen.* 37). One of those sons, in turn, arguably could have had a son of his own old enough to be consul in 264. This might imply that Caecus' consular son Russus was rather old by the time he reached the highest office, seeing that his putative nephew will by then have been an adult. But as son of a man who had been consul nearly forty years earlier and quaestor c.316 (*MRR* 1.156 cf. 158), he will have been fairly old by 268 anyway. R.Develin suggests ages from 32 to 50 as the usual range for patrician consuls in this century (*Patterns in Office-Holding*, 366-49 B.C., Brussels 1979, 63-7 esp. 66; at p.62 he notes that Ap.Caecus was probably born before 340).

Nor is it certain that Russus was Caecus' eldest son. Preceding generations of known Claudii show frequent alternation between Ap. and C. (see Münzer's stemma). Conceivably Caudex' father was an older brother who for some reason played no leading part in affairs.

There is an objection to this. Cicero, seconded again by Gellius, names among the sons of Ap.Caecus the notorious P.Claudius Pulcher (of sacred chickens fame), cos. 249, and C.Claudius Centho, cos. 240: both of whom, indeed, the Fasti style Ap.f. C.n. (Cicero, *Div.* 1.16.29, Schol. Bob. p.90 Stangl, Gellius 10.6 for Pulcher; Cicero, *Brut.* 72, *Tusc.* 1.3, Gellius 17.21.42 for Pulcher; cf. Münzer, *RE* 3, 'Claudius 304' & 'Claudius 104'; *MRR* 1.214 & 221; Degraffi 56). If correct, this leaves no room for another C.Claudius *Caeci filius* as father of Ap.Caudex; and for Caudex to become consul so far ahead of two uncles would be close to inexplicable anyway.

But should we follow Cicero? Admittedly the alleged paternity of the brothers Pulcher and Centho is widely accepted (e.g. by Münzer, *RE* 3.2665-6 in stemma, 2857 'Claudius 304', etc.; H.H.Scullard, *Roman Politics*, 220-150 B.C.<sup>2</sup>, 1973, 37 & stemma on 311; Develin 55, 66 with n. 34). Cicero took pains to achieve accuracy in his historical references, as Elizabeth Rawson has emphasized (*JRS* 62[1972], 33-45 esp. 39ff.) - at any rate for items of central interest and for recent times. But, if correct, it would mean that the brothers were close to (or in) their sixties when they attained the consulate; or else that Ap.Caecus had sired them when he was approaching (or again in) old age, and quite a long time after the birth of Ap.Russus. In the former case, it would be difficult to account for such extraordinary delay in the careers of not one but two patrician Claudii, sons of the eminent Caecus and brothers of the respectably successful Russus. The latter case is equally improbable in itself, nor does Cicero's terming Caecus' sons *robustos* by the time he was *senex* support it: the context implies that they were mature.

One of the other passages cited by Münzer in support of Caecus as father of Pulcher and Centho is Suetonius, *Tiberius* 3.1, where Caecus is credited with a son 'Appius Pulcher'. This is poor support really. Suetonius could be making a mistake over the *cognomen* of Ap.Russus, imagining him to be the first of the Pulchri; just a page earlier (2.1) he seems to give the *praenomen* of C.Claudius Nero, victor of the Metaurus, as 'Tiberius', which does not suggest total accuracy with Claudian family names. As a final point, Pliny the Elder calls P.Claudius Pulcher the *nepos* of Caecus (*NH* 15.2): a clear error as the filiation proves, but one which suggests that complete certainty about their relationship did not exist in later times.

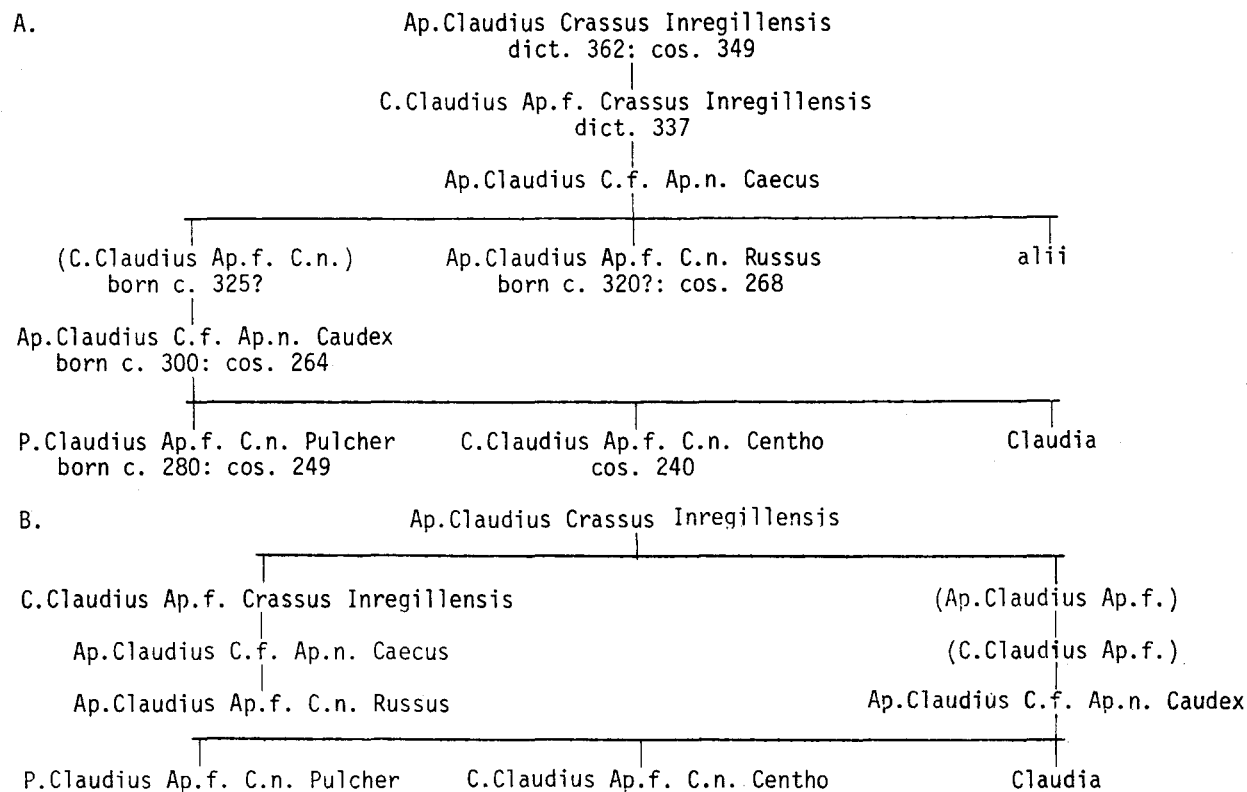
There is one other item to consider. C.Claudius Pulcher, cos. 92, was patron of the *populus Mamertinus* of Messana (Cicero, 2 *Verr.* 4.6). That betokens a link with Ap.Caudex, preserver of the Mamertines in 264. Conceivably then the latter (C.f. Ap.n. as he was) was the real father of the brothers Pulcher and Centho (both Ap.f. C.n.) - as indeed De Sanctis suggested (*Storia dei Romani* 3.1<sup>2</sup>.167 n.62), followed by Walbank (*Commentary on Polybius* 1.113), though this view has found little favour elsewhere. Cicero may have made them sons of Caecus through an explicable error: that earlier Appius was much more famous in Roman history and tradition than his grandson (as I view him) Caudex. In giving the filiation Cicero is making no crucial point but merely an incidental one: he could be reflecting a popular impression which he had no special grounds for checking up. The same would hold for Gellius' source at *NA* 10.6, C.Ateius Capito, who described P.Pulcher's sister Claudia, the outspoken Vestal of the 240s (cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 2.3 for the same story), as Caecus' daughter again.

It might be considered a drawback to this theory that Pulcher and Centho, or Pulcher at all events, will have attained the consulate fairly young. Their great-grandfather Caecus must have been born in the 340s, their father Caudex c. 300 (305 at the earliest); Pulcher then can hardly have seen the light of day before about 280, making him consul in his thirty-first year. But a Third-Century consul of this age would be no prodigy, though of course he would not be average either. The *lex annalis* was generations away, the conventions that gave rise to it only now becoming established, and the Claudii were eminent even among the aristocracy. Develin suggests an average age of 35 for Third-Century patrician consuls, with a range (as mentioned above) between 32 and 50 (*Patterns in Office-Holding*, 1979, 64, 66); other youthful Fourth- and Third-Century consuls - early 30s on his reckoning - include C.Marcus Rutilus Censorinus, cos. 310, P.Sempronius Sophus, cos. 304, L.Papirius Cursor, cos. 293, M.Fulvius Flaccus, cos. 264 (Caudex' colleague), M.Fabius Buteo, cos. 245, and his brother N., cos. 247, and of course P.Cornelius Scipio Africanus, cos. 205 (Develin 61-7, nos. 16, 18, 23, 39, 54, 55 & 61). Except for Africanus, these men's ages are of course approximate at best, and some may be too low; but we are dealing in approximations for Pulcher and Centho too.

122

As late as 199, objections to T. Flamininus as candidate for the consulate - complaints that he had held only the quaestorship and that *nec per honorum gradus ... nobiles homines tendere ad consulatum, sed transcendendo media summa imis continuare* - were quashed by the Senate on the ground that the people had the right to elect any man *qui honorem quem sibi capere per leges liceret peteret* (Livy 32.7.10-11; cf. Briscoe's *Commentary* ad loc., 180). Flamininus was about 28 (cf. Polybius 18.12.5; Livy 33.33.3; Plutarch, *Flam.* 2.2; E. Badian, *JRS* 61[1971], 107-8). One may doubt whether anyone would have ventured even to complain, half a century earlier.

The accompanying stemmata show the two possible networks of relationships for Ap. Caudex, with A the likelier.



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J.L. CREED (Lancaster): *Aristotle and the veto: a puzzle in the Politics* (4.14 1298b34-41) *LCM* 8.8 (Oct. 1983), 122-123

καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δὲ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις γινομένου δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἀποληκρίζομενον μὲν γὰρ κύριον δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, καταληκρίζομενον δὲ μὴ κύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπαναγέσθω πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀνεστραμμένως ποιοῦσιν· οἱ γὰρ ὀλίγοι ἀποληκρίζομενοι μὲν κύριοι, καταληκρίζομενοι δὲ οὐ κύριοι, ἀλλ' ἐπαναγέται εἰς τοὺς πλείους αἰεὶ. 4.14 1298b34-41

Robinson (*Clarendon Aristotle Series*) accurately translates: 'The opposite of what actually happens in the constitutions is what ought to be done. The majority ought to be made supreme in rejecting a measure, but not supreme in adopting it; in the latter case let it be referred back to the officers. But they do the converse in the constitutions: the few are supreme in rejecting and not supreme in adopting; when they adopt anything it is always referred to the majority.'

Although Newman has a lengthy note on this passage (of which more later), no commentator whom I have consulted confesses himself at a loss, as I must, to understand what it means. The passage comes at the end of Aristotle's advice to oligarchies on how to organize the decision-making function (τὸ βουλευόμενον) in the state; on the face of it, the contrast between what should happen in oligarchies and what does happen 'in the constitutions'<sup>1</sup> turns on saying that in the constitutions the few wield a veto but cannot give a decisive yes-vote, this right being reserved to the majority; but that the 'opposite' or 'converse' should happen, the majority should have a veto, the right of giving a decisive yes-vote being confined to the few - with whom, presumably, the 'officers' (οἱ ἄρχοντες) are here to be identified.

The difficulty with this interpretation is that it makes Aristotle appear to have overlooked

1. It is unclear here whether, as most translators take it - Rackham (Loeb), Aubonnet (Budé), Barker - whether Aristotle is referring to the specific constitution of which democracy is a perversion (often translated as 'polity') in which the many govern in the common interest (see 3.1279a37-9) or to constitutions in general. Either way he is referring to a situation in which (in his view) the few enjoy less real power than if they followed his advice.

something that he, of all people, might have been expected not to overlook: that if body 'x' has a veto, no other person or body can be said to have an unqualified right to say yes. There are two basic kinds of decision-making structure possible in a community: one (A) which vests all power of decision, affirmative or negative, in one body, as the British constitution effectively vests all such power in the House of Commons: and one (B) which requires the consent of two or more bodies for any positive decision, as, at least within certain limits, the constitution of the United States requires the consent of both Houses of Congress and of the President; and it is a characteristic of this second kind of structure that, while each body has a sovereign veto, this very fact precludes any of them from being able to exercise a sovereign yes-vote.

Admittedly Aristotle never directly says either that in the system which he recommends the officers should have the decisive yes-vote or that the majority have this power in the 'constitutions'; but he seems to imply both propositions. Yet the logic of both situations clearly conforms to system (B) as described above: if, in Aristotle's recommended system, an affirmative decision of the many is referred back to the officers, what power do these officers have? No sovereign yes-power, since they can only say yes to what the many have already approved; but they clearly do have a sovereign veto. Thus both the situations which Aristotle contrasts give a blocking power to each of the two parties, but neither gives a sovereign yes-power to either party. What then is the difference between the two systems, and what is Aristotle trying to say?

Perhaps Aristotle is really concerned with the order of decision-making and the body which is 'supreme' in relation to any decision is the one which takes the final decision - an interpretation which Rackham seems to support when he translates *κατανομιζέσθαι* by 'ratify'. On this view, Aristotle will be recommending to oligarchs a system in which an affirmative decision by the assembly needs ratification by the officers, whereas in 'the constitutions' an affirmative decision by the few requires ratification by the assembly. The difference between the two systems will then be clear and unambiguous.

If, as I suspect, this is the correct interpretation of the passage, Aristotle will have accurately observed that only one body in each situation can take a final affirmative decision. But the system clearly remains one of type (B), with no single body possessing the kind of power that is in the hands of the British House of Commons, whose power of decision is limited, apart from delaying restrictions, only by the power of the Prime Minister to seek to appeal from it to the electorate; and the validity of Aristotle's advice rests on the assumption that the real power of affirmative decision lies with the body which has the final ratificatory voice, and that final affirmative decisions should therefore be taken by the few. Newman (iv.252-3) cites in support of Aristotle's advice the statement in Cicero's *Republic* of the principle supposedly in force in the early years of the Roman Republic that no popular decision should be final unless it had been approved by the authority of the fathers (*Rep.* 2.56 *quodque erat ad optinendam potentiam nobilium vel maximum, vehementer id retinebatur, populi comitia ne essent rata, nisi ea patrum adprobavisset auctoritas*).

But the wording of Cicero's statement makes it at least possible that the conferment of the *patrum auctoritas* would precede rather than follow the vote of the *comitia* (Newman also, however, cites Livy 1.17 9 *decreverunt enim, ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent*, which clearly envisages the *patrum auctoritas* following the popular vote); and certainly in more historical times the senatorial oligarchy maintained its political control not by vetoing popular decisions which had already been voted but by ensuring that proposals of which it disapproved were never put to the assemblies. One weakness of this system which Tiberius Gracchus was able to exploit was that there was no legal requirement, only a more or less hallowed custom, for prior senatorial approval to be secured; and it was this gap which, according to the perhaps questionable authority of Appian (*BC* 1.59), Sulla tried to plug in 88 B.C. by enacting that no measure should be brought before the people which had not been previously considered (and presumably approved) by the Senate.

Thus the Roman experience at least, which Newman cites in support of Aristotle's advice, suggests rather that the state at which real power is exercised is much earlier than the ratificatory - since the order of events in the decision-making processes of the Roman Republic, at its most oligarchically stable, conformed much more to what Aristotle observes 'in the constitutions' than to what he recommends for oligarchies.

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Robert Parker (Oriel College, Oxford): *A note on Juvenal, Satire 1.17-18* LCM 8.8(Oct.1983), 123

Juvenal begins the satire with the informality and immediacy proper to the genre: no introduction, but a lively question that indicates a situation (compare Pope's opening command in the *Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*). But he quickly reveals a vehement eloquence, an *acer spiritus ac vis*, that conventionally belonged to higher forms of literature (Horace, *Sat.* 1.4.45-62). He is a man subjected to an intolerable outrage; he is filled with the rage and passion of a true *percussus Achilles* (cf. 163). It is strange that commentators have not noted the fine sardonic perversion of an heroic commonplace in which the section culminates. The hero risks his life in battle because he cannot protect it for ever from extinction by process of nature (Sarpedon to Glaucus, *Iliad* 12.322ff.). Juvenal will show no mercy to paper that is similarly doomed: *stulta est clementia, cum tot | vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae*. Sarpedon's speech was often imitated (e.g. Stesichorus, *SLG* S.11; Pindar, *O.* 1.82-3; Sophocles, *Ant.* 460-2; as a school theme, N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983, 31f.), but Juvenal's immediate model was probably the fine sentiment attributed to Sulla by the influential Sallust (*Jug.* 106.3): *etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius quam, proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paulo morbo interiturae vitae parceret*. For Juvenal's knowledge of Sallust see e.g. the scholium on 8.138, which rightly cites *Jug.* 85.23.

*surgamus: solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra,  
iuniperi gravis umbra; nocent et frugibus umbrae.  
ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae.*

With these lines Virgil brings to a close what he emphasizes to be his last *Eclogue* (*extremum ... laborem* 10.1), and takes his leave of pastoral poetry. *surgamus* implies not only rising from the position characteristic of the pastoral singer, recumbent in the shade of a tree as in 1.1-2

*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi  
silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena,*

it also presages the poet's move from a genre avowedly humble (*humiles ... myricae*, 4.2) to something more elevated (cf. W. Berg, *Early Virgil*, London 1974, 189). The shade, erstwhile so attractive to the pastoral singer (1.1f. & 4f., 2.3ff., 5.5, 7.1 & 10), is now seen as harmful. *umbra*, thrice repeated within the context of a reversal of its usual values, invites investigation of its possible metaphorical ramifications.

*umbra* represents repose, retreat, withdrawal, *otium*, notions with powerful negative as well as positive connotations (cf. P. L. Smith, *Phoenix* 19 [1965], 298-304, especially 303-4). *umbra*, the location of pastoral song, can stand for the composition of that song, just as *arbusta*, *myricae*, *silvae* (4.2-3) stand for its subjects. The singer must make the effort to rise; he remains too long in the shade of pastoral at his peril. More specifically, in this song sung especially for Gallus (*pauca meo Gallo ... carmina sunt dicenda*, 2-3), the tree under which the singer sits is that which represents the poetry of Gallus,

*Gallo, cuius AMOR tantum mihi crescit in horas  
quantum vere novo viridis se subicit ALNUS. 73-4  
certum est in silvis ....*

(cf. 53-5

*... ... teneris ... meos incidere AMORES  
arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, AMORES.*

and CQ ns32 [1982], 377f.).

The tribute (*neget quis carmina Gallo?* 3) has been gracefully paid; but it is harmful for one singer to linger in the shadow of another: *solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra*. Shade stunts growth: *nocent et frugibus umbrae*. The composition of pastoral song, the desire to discharge a debt to Gallus, cause harm to ... *frugibus*. If *arbusta*, *myricae*, *silvae* represent the subject-matter of pastoral, what are *fruges*? The testimony of Ovid would suggest the *Georgics* (*Am.* 1.15.25 *Tityrus et FRUGES Aeneiaque arma legentur*),

if the attempt of Naugerius and most subsequent editors (cf. G. P. Goold, *HSCP* 69 [1965], 29f.) to assimilate the unanimous reading of his manuscripts (*fruges*) to the first line of the *Georgics* (*segetes*) be rejected. The biographical tradition which sees the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* as being composed in self-contained periods of the poet's career which do not overlap (cf. *Vita Donati* 25, *Vita Serv.* 1.25 [Hardie]) may be too rigid. When composing his pastoral tribute to Gallus, a tribute he characterizes as *extremum ... laborem* (1), Virgil may not only have been contemplating his subsequent work, he may already have been actively engaged upon it.

There remains the shadowy juniper. Commentators point to the evidence of Lucretius for the harmfulness of the shade of certain trees

(6.783-5 *arboribus primum certis gravis umbra tributa  
usque adeo, capitis faciant ut saepe dolores,  
siquis eas subter iacuit prostratus in herbis*)

and, *faute de mieux*, to the Elder Pliny for the danger from the walnut-tree (*gravis et noxia etiam capiti humano omnibusque iuxta satis*, *NH* 17.89). Where no positive suggestions exist, perhaps a guess may be entertained. Servius auctus on *Eclogue* 7.53 preserves an Augustan etymology for the tree's name: *Verrius Flaccus iuniperum IUVENEM PIRUM dicit*. In the *Eclogues*, the pear symbolizes hope for the future:

(1.73 *insere nunc, Meliboeae, piro, pone ordine vites.*  
9.50 *insere, Daphni, piro: carpent tua poma nepotes.*)

The poems themselves contemplate at length and often the poetic hopes of their author, the stylistic and thematic choices available to him, and his aspiration to poetic maturity and authority (4.1ff., 6 passim, 8.6ff.). The time has now come to move out from the shadow of these youthful hopes, represented by the *Eclogues*

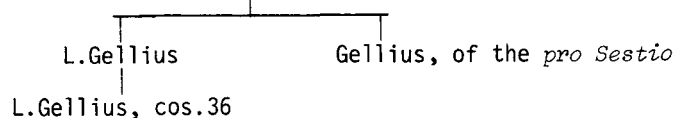
(G. 4.565-6 *carmina qui lusi pastorum AUDAXQUE IUVENTA,  
Tityre, te PATULAE cecini SUB TEGMINE FAGI.*)

in the direction of fulfilling them.

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RICHARD J. EVANS (Bancrofts' School, Woodford Green, Essex): *The Gellius of Cicero's pro Sestio* LCM 8.8 (Oct. 1983), 124-126

T. P. Wiseman (*Cinna the Poet and other Roman Essays*, 1974, 119-129) suggests that the Gellius referred to in the *pro Sestio* (110-113) is a son of the consul of 72 and uncle to the consul of 36. The subsequent stemma emerged: L. Gellius, cos. 72



The evidence supporting the existence of Gellius comes from Catullus (80.1-2, 74, 89, 88-91) and Valerius Maximus (5.9.1). Although this material is employed skillfully to prove an intervening generation between consuls, both authorities are derogatory and biased, and should be considered in this light. Such invective and bias is a common feature of Cicero's speeches (*Mil.* 3, *Clu.* 97, *Rab. perd.* 12, *Sul.* 70, *Cat.* 1.33, 2.7) and the satires of Lucilius (*Loeb* fr. 5, 84-6, 87-93, 233-4, 440-2, 445-7, 450-2, 1138-41, 1196-1208). Indeed this appears to form an integral part of a particular Roman genre: personal abuse and character destruction.

The episode recounted by Valerius Maximus resulted in no more than parental censure, so it may be correct to assume that the whole affair was a case of malicious rumour. It is of course unwise to be dismissive of source material, but the fact that nothing more serious ensued, and that the *iudex* at the trial (L. Gellius, cos. 72, himself) saw little evidence of truth in the accusation points to its lack of credibility. In Catullus' poems abuse is directed against a rival (for the attentions of Lesbia), so can this evidence be taken seriously as a factual basis for a reconstruction of the character involved? If the words of the poet are compared with those of Cicero's description of Catiline (*Cat.* 2.7-8) a similarity emerges which goes beyond the mere assessment of two 'despicable' men. This material is biased and subjective, its use as historical fact for this problem therefore must be regarded as untrustworthy.

Cicero admittedly says little about Gellius (cf. *Vat.* 4), and what he says can hardly be taken as complimentary. The pejorative adjectives *indignus*, *impurus*, *petulans*, *gurgis ac vorago* describe an aristocrat who seems to have been the stepson of L. Marcius Philippus (cos. 91) and hence the brother of the consul of 56 (the year of Sestius' trial). What importance can be attached to the mention of a respected consul and his unworthy brother beyond its rhetorical effect? In this instance the figure of speech is calculated to highlight a comparison, as it is when employed elsewhere (cf. the Gracchi, *Fin.* 4.66; *prov. cons.* 18; *Brut.* 43). This technical imagery is always important and designed to further the destruction of the subject's character, usually by drawing examples between an illustrious father and worthless son. Instead here Cicero chooses to refer to a stepfather and brother when a father was also available. The elder Gellius was certainly alive in 56 (*Pis.* 6), and throughout his long career was a source of admiration for Cicero (*Brut.* 105; *Pis.* 6). If the Gellius of the *pro Sestio* was the son of the consul of 72, then the opportunity for the accustomed comparison is strangely lost.

Gellius' position is therefore interesting, for he must have been well placed in society, influential and wealthy (if his family connexions can be believed), although as a supporter of Clodius these facets are ruthlessly played down. His passion for pseudo-philosophy and a devotion to the delights of Epicureanism are attacked by the orator (*Sest.* 110 *ad philosophorum ... studio litterarum ... insaturabile abdomen ...*). However, such a life style was not unusual among members of the equestrian order when they chose not to indulge in a public career. It is worth remembering that Atticus subscribed to much the same way of life, but fortunately he remained on good terms with everyone (in particular Cicero), Gellius to his cost did not. All references to Gellius in this speech are unfavourable, Cicero is unremitting in his hostility even though this man is related to the respectable Marcii Philippi; as regards his filiation there is absolute silence (cf. *Att.* 4.3.2). We ought then to consider the fact (noted by Wiseman, from Badian, on p. 126 n. 32) that this Gellius is not related to the senatorial *stirps* of the same name.

If this Gellius is summarily removed from the senatorial family, then a clarity is established which suits our source material in a most satisfactory way. The two consular Gellii become father and son, the consul of 36 a son of old age (born perhaps between 75 and 70), certainly not a unique event. The father would have been about sixty years of age, and we know that another consular, M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul 115 and later *princeps senatus*, also had a son in his old age. He was born in 96, was praetor *suo anno* in 56 and presided as *iudex* in this very trial (*Sest.* 101, 116). Scaurus was in his mid-sixties at the time of the birth of his son, and like the elder Gellius did not lack vigour in his old age (*Rab. perd.* 21; *red. Quir.* 17). It may well be then that two different families who possessed the same name have created this confusing situation.

Yet the evidence available indicates that the gentilicial name Gellius is rare (*LCM* 5.9 [Nov. 1980], 201-3), and our sources are sufficiently questionable to allow for some adjustment in this family's stemma to include the Gellius of this speech. Neither Catullus nor Valerius Maximus are specific in their remarks, so could easily be judging the activities of the consul of 36 as a young man. Cicero would then become our only source for this Gellius, whom he more precisely describes as being in middle age (*otio et tranquillitate rei publicae consenescebat*, *Sest.* 110).

In an attempt to overcome this difficulty, Wiseman inserted an intervening generation, and provides an uncle, a Gellius mentioned in Cicero's correspondence to Atticus (*Att.* 15.21.2; cf. *Nepos*, *Att.* 10.2-4 *Quintus Gellius Kanus*; Wiseman 127 n. 34). It is equally possible, however, that the elder Gellius had another son by an earlier marriage (born perhaps 105-100). This son's career was adversely affected by the delay to the father's (pr. 94, cos. 72), he was unable to enter the senatorial order and so remained an equestrian. Gellius' other surviving son by a later marriage (to Polla, also the mother of Messalla Corvinus, cos. 31, see Dio 47.24.3) was able to do so because his father had become a *consularis*. Therefore, rather than interpolate some hitherto undisclosed generation, it is perhaps better to employ the prosopography without too much conjecture; an elder brother for the consul of 36 would after all fulfil most of the requirements which our sources demand (see amended stemma at end).

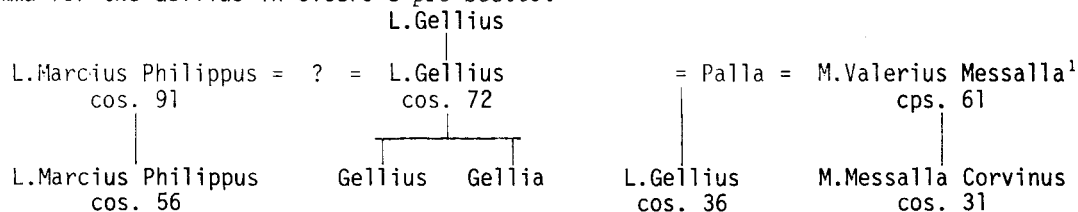
Thus Gellius was a middle-aged equestrian, a suitable *nutricula* (*Vat.* 4) with powerful friends and relations, who meddled in politics but survived to be saved by Atticus (*Nepos*, *Att.* 10.2-4). As the elder son of the consul of 72 his *praenomen* should be Gnaeus (not Quintus, as in *Nepos*), since this was the name given to the eldest son of this family (*LCM* 9.5 [Nov. 1980],

126

201-203). Cicero does not draw the normal comparison between him and his real father in deference to that man's extreme old age, and the fact that he was a *familiaris* of the orator (*Brut.* 105). There is a natural inclination to place a generation between the two consular Gellii, particularly if one relies too heavily on the comments of Catullus. An elder brother will not necessarily satisfy all criteria here, although considering the inherent exaggeration present (cf. Catullus 74, 88.3, 89.1-3, 91.5) this need not form an insurmountable obstacle.

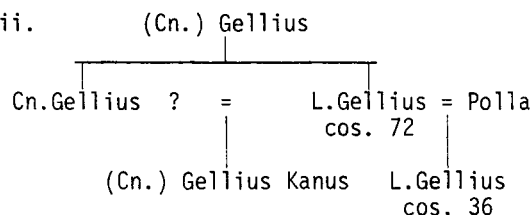
It would be naive to suggest that the problem of Gellius is solved, but the intention has been to offer an alternative to that already proposed. To those doubters of the study of prosopography, it will vindicate their view that it is easy to play with names, but not so easy to substantiate one's claims. Nevertheless, Gellius has deserved further discussion from a different angle, and Cicero, whom we may blame for this confusion, may in fact give a final clue to his identity. *o gulam insulam. pudet me patris* (*Att.* 13.31.4) appears to reaffirm the view of *pro Sestio* 111, and hints that here indeed we have the unworthy son.

Amended stemma for the Gellius in Cicero's *pro Sestio*.



1. M.Valerius Messalla Niger, consul 61, seems a better candidate as father of the consul of 31 than Messalla Rufus, consul 53. The latter was discredited shortly after his consulship and went into exile. He is known to have survived well into Augustus' rule, and therefore some comment might be expected with regard to his more famous son (*Att.* 4.15.7, 17.3; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.9.14). This is not the case, so one is tempted to regard the earlier consul as the father (*Att.* 1.14.6).

Complete stemma for the Gellii.



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Review: M.J. ALDEN (The Queen's University, Belfast)

LCM 8.8 (Oct. 1983), 126-127

W.D. Tylour, E.B. French, K.A. Wardle (Eds.), *Well Built Mycenae. The Hellenic-British Excavations within the Citadel at Mycenae 1959-1969*. Fascicule 1, W.D. Tylour, *The Excavations*, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1981. Paper, pp. [6] + 63 + 91 in microfiche paginated 101-192, 2 folding plans tipped in as pp. 5-6 & after p. [64]. £8.50 (£5.50 on standing order). ISBN 0 85668 196 2

Final publications of major archaeological sites have traditionally been published in luxurious form, with glossy paper, colour plates, and, frequently, fine bindings. A.J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, London 1928-1936, and C.W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge 1937, are cases in point. Such works cost a fortune to produce, and are beyond the means of most of the public which would like to make use of them. The first fascicle of *Well Built Mycenae*, despite the care which has gone into its production, does not cost a fortune, and nobody could say that it was luxuriously produced. It is beautifully composed (unjustified right-hand margins, but that does not matter), with far fewer printing errors than many conventional type-setters would have made.

The secret of the low cost is that the book is divided into text and microfiche. The main account of the site and excavations is in the text, while plans, photographs, tables of thanks, and lists of future fascicles are accommodated on the fiche. As most people do not own a microfiche reader, the book will have to be read in a library. When purchasers reflect that in its present form the work costs less than £10.00, whereas had it been conventionally published, it would probably have cost more than £100.00, they may care to spend what they have saved on a microfiche reader, so that they can then read the thirty-seven other fascicles which are mentioned as forthcoming, on fiche pp. 108-111. Readers of *LCM* who are anxious at the prospect of lying in bed with a microfiche reader instead of with a legitimate spouse may comfort themselves with the view that this will be the way of the future. All the same, it is to be hoped that modern technology will not become so fancy that the microfiche readers so recently bought rapidly become obsolete.

The reviewer experienced an initial sensation of panic at the prospect of having to use a machine to read a book. When one is dealing with microfiche instead of plates, one cannot insert fingers between several pairs of plates at the back, in order to be able to consult a number of photographs in rapid succession. A plan or section which in an incarnation before the microfiche occupied an A3 page which would normally be folded up, has to occupy the area of two or more plates on the fiche, and the reader must accept the annoyance that a large plan or section will

not fit on the screen all at once. The microfiche reader tinted all the plates green: this, coupled with the fact that the machine was underground, left the reviewer profoundly depressed. It is not always possible to distinguish the feature one is supposed to be looking at: for example, to make out with any confidence the doorway with lintel of room 18 on fiche p.191d it is probably necessary to have seen the doorway itself. However, a daunting task rapidly becomes easier, and the reviewer gained confidence with familiarity with the fiche, and was eventually able to whizz about on it, locating plans and plates with almost the same speed as is possible with a conventional publication. The text of the microfiches is beautifully typed.

*Well Built Mycenae* is the first of a series of thirty-eight fascicles by different authors, but under the editorial control of W.D.Taylour, E.B.French and K.A.Wardle, and intended to form the definitive publication of the Helleno-British excavations at Mycenae between 1959 and 1969. Initial reports of the excavations have appeared, and detailed studies of some of the relevant material (Bibliography, pp.57-73), but the series of fascicles will also present material not previously published, together with interpretations etc., in order to present the archaeological world with the fullest possible account of the excavations in the area between the South House and Tsountas' House, and which Wace christened the 'Citadel House'. This term is sometimes used as a convenient designation for the area as a whole, which was found to consist of several buildings, very clearly illustrated in the excellent Plan 2 by Mrs Wardle, and named 'The South House, Annex', 'The Temple', 'The Room with the Fresco' and 'The Megaron'. In his guide to Mycenae (*Mycenae-Epidaurus*, Athens 1979), S.E.Iakovidis renames the Citadel House 'Wace's House'.

After an account of the projected series of fascicles, the use of the fiche (which in some parts of the series may be longer than the text) is explained. Readers should not hope to manage simply by reading the text: they will need access to a machine for reading the fiche. The stratigraphical stages revealed by the excavation are then presented: these are illustrated on the fiche by plans of the different stages of use, and further clarified by Section 1, which appears both on the fiche (p.115) and in the text (pp.5-6), with obvious advantages. A lucid account is presented of the LHIIIB2 structures revealed, together with communications between rooms, their state of preservation, and, as far as can reasonably be determined, their purpose. As these structures include the buildings mentioned above together with workshops for luxury goods, the account makes interesting reading, and seems to impart real understanding.

There follows, as the bulk of fascicle 1, an account of the excavation of 1954 by Wace (which could not be continued, since Wace died in 1957) and of those from 1959-1969. In 1959 work was begun under the joint direction of Lord William Taylour and Dr John Papademetriou, and continued to the end of the season of 1962. Sadly, Papademetriou died in 1963, and when in 1964 a permit was issued, it was made clear that the work, now under the joint direction of Professor Mylonas and Lord William Taylour, was to be finished in that year. This proved impossible unless Schliemann's efforts in the initial stages of the excavation of Troy were to be emulated, and another permit was issued in 1966, with the same proviso. Further work was undertaken in 1968, since the Archaeological Service required that the Main Balk be demolished, and the Helleno-British excavations were terminated, if not completed, in 1969. The investigation of those parts of the site which W.D.Taylour had not been able to complete in the time allotted to him was finished by the Archaeological Service in 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973 and 1974. Reports may be found in *Εργον* of those years.

It would be difficult to attempt to review the excavator's account of his work, especially when one did not assist at it. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that the account is clear, and the material is of considerable interest. As in any archaeological account, the excavator is sometimes inclined to mention a wall which cannot be found by the uninitiated on a plan, e.g. Wall 2a (p.28), which is a Mycenaean terrace wall: it is not the practice of the work to label main terrace walls, and identification, though possible, is not easy. Z8 (p.28) is an LHIIIC wall, but which? In using the book, the reader will learn to which plan he should refer for e.g. the walls which were demolished in R32 1969 (p.51: the plan is no.4). The casual reader, who may simply be chasing a reference, may run into difficulties here, since, presumably for reasons of space, he is not told which plan. On the lighter side, a fine pair of gentlemen's lace-ups may be observed on fiche p.170d, beside the Protogeometric Grave.

Readers who would also like an illustrated account of the discoveries in the Citadel House, presented in conventional form, can find one in W.D.Taylour's *The Mycenaeans*, Thames and Hudson 1983, a revised and enlarged edition of the 1963 version. *The Mycenaeans* 1983 uses many of the photographs and plans which appear in *Well Built Mycenae* 1, though naturally it is not possible in a popular work to enter into such detail as may be found in the definitive publication.

The Editors seem to make some apology for the time which has been taken in the production of the series, though had it appeared much earlier 'subsequent research would have compelled me to modify my conclusions so considerably as to make the original version almost worthless' (p.5). It is, then, probably no bad thing that production was delayed. The form of presentation comes as something of a shock, but when the initial surprise has been overcome, the work is not difficult to use. The editors, and Aris & Phillips, deserve to be congratulated on having produced an essential work in a form which makes it easy for a library to store, and convenient and cheap for all its intended public to buy, without sacrificing any of the clarity and accuracy which is essential to, and normally so costly in, definitive archaeological publication.



*Theocritus* 7 is a poem with many puzzling features, not the least of which is the apparent reference to the Battle of the Books in lines 45ff.. The context in brief is that Simichidas modestly denies that he is a match in singing (ἀείδων, line 41) either for Sicelidas or for Philitas. Lycidas approves of his modesty: 'for much I hate the builder who seeks to raise his house as high as the peak of Mount Oromedon, and much those cocks of the Muses who lose their toil with crowing against the bard of Chios (i.e. Homer)'.

ὥς μοι καὶ τέκτων μέγ' ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῇ  
 ἴσον ὄρευσ κορυφῇ τελέσαι δόμον Ὀρομέδοντος,  
 καὶ Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χῖον ἀοιδόν  
 ἀντία κοικύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.

7.45-48.

For ἀοιδόν in line 47 J.M.Edmonds, in his Loeb edition, suggested ἀηδῶ, perhaps seeing the Chian Nightingale as a reminiscence of Bacchylides' reference to himself (3.97) as the Cean Nightingale. Although ἀηδῶ would be a better echo (one might almost say pun on) ἀείδων in line 41, the conjecture has not found acceptance, and it is better to retain ἀοιδόν. But another, and much more important, question is raised by the passage. Why introduce Homer at all, whether as bard or as nightingale? The lines, as Gow with undue mildness remarks (*Theocritus* II [1952], 144), 'do not arise naturally from their context'. It can only be argued that the Battle of the Books was such an important contemporary issue that Theocritus felt that it was necessary to declare his interest and take sides. But it remains true that an out-of-the-blue reference to the issue, in a totally unrelated context, is an extremely clumsy and inappropriate way of doing so. Simichidas has denied any claim to equality not with Homer but with Sicelidas and Philitas. Is it then possible that what Theocritus wrote was not Χῖον ἀοιδόν but Κῶρον ἀοιδόν, the bard not of Chios but of Cos? The two adjectives are not unlike, and are often closely associated through their connexion with games of dice (the Chian throw is the lowest, and the Coan throw the highest, possible). More pertinently, the reference to Homer as Χῖος ἀοιδός in line 218 of *Idyll* 22 may have been an influencing factor. It has of course to be admitted that the Scholiast on the passage already recognized it as a reference to Homer, and there is also the statement in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and other *Etymologica* that Κῶρος σὺν τῷ ἱ γράσσεται (i.e. is written Κῶιος) with a quotation from Callimachus (which may incidentally refer to Philitas) to illustrate it (Fr.532 in Pfeiffer's edition, with full references). If the compiler of the *Etymologicum* is correct, this would exclude Κῶρον as a possibility in the passage under discussion. But it is difficult to know what weight can be attached to the opinion of some Byzantine scholar, possibly of the 9th century A.D. (though his sources may well be much earlier). Indeed, if scholarly opinion held that the word ought to be written Κῶιος, this might well help to account for the change to Χῖον in this passage.

It may be appropriate now to look at the passage in its wider context. Recent scholarship has shown quite clearly that the poem takes the form of an ironic Divine Encounter, a mock investiture of the young Simichidas by a deity disguised as the goatherd Lycidas. Whether the deity involved is Apollo, as maintained by Frederick Williams (*CQ* ns21[1971], 137-145), or Pan, as argued (with less plausibility, I feel) by Edwin L.Brown (*HSCP* 85[1981], 59-100), there is no doubt that he is there as the deity not of poetry in general, certainly not of epic poetry, but specifically of pastoral verse, the deity appropriate to the form of poetry which Simichidas himself is practising. If Lycidas is Pan, his pastoral connexions require no emphasis; and if he is Apollo, his pseudonym Lycidas makes it clear that he is Apollo Λύκιος, an epithet which denotes, as Williams points out (p.138), 'a specifically pastoral function of Apollo'. The builder who tries to erect a house as high as Mount Oromedon/Horomedon incurs the wrath of the divine patron of bucolic poetry, and similarly the 'cocks of the Muses' provoke his displeasure by crowing against the supreme practitioner of the bucolic art, not against Homer but against Philitas. If Κῶρον is read, the remarks of 'Lycidas' can be seen not as an unrelated side-swipe aimed at the school of Apollonius, but as an entirely appropriate contribution to the development of the poem.

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PAMELA M.HUBY(Liverpool): *Averroes as evidence for the text of Aristotle's de anima*

LCM 8.8(Oct.1983), 128

Averroes' *Long Commentary on Aristotle's De Anima*, which is available in Latin translation, has not been used, as far as I can discover, as evidence for Aristotle's text. I give here a sample of what may be available.

The lemma for *de anima* 3.7 431a14 (p.469 Crawford) begins: *et in anima sensibili inveniuntur ymagines secundum modos sensuum* (sentence A). *et cum dicimus in aliquo ipsum esse malum aut bonum ...* But 431a14-16 in the Greek text runs: τῇ δὲ διανοητικῇ ψυχῇ τὰ φαντάσματα οἷον αἰσθητά ὑπάρχει, ὅταν δὲ ἀγαθόν ἢ κακὸν φῶσιν ... That is, in Aristotle the reference is to the 'dianoetic' (rational) soul, but in Averroes to the 'sensible' soul. Further, on p.469, lines 11-13, Averroes has: *et hoc invenitur in alia translatione manifestius. dicit enim: apud autem animam rationalem ymago est quasi res sensibiles* (sentence B). *deinde dixit: et cum dicimus in re*, etc. That is, Averroes' preferred version contained a sentence not in our Aristotle, but he also knew a version identical with the one we have. It is even possible that his second version contained both sentences, though that seems a less probable interpretation of his words.

This section of the *de anima* is 'a collection of fragments', and its text is in a very bad state. The fragment 431a8-17 is very difficult to understand, but it certainly contains a contrast between perceiving on the one hand and pursuing or avoiding on the other. To insert sentence A, 'And in the perceptive (or sensitive) soul are found images according to the modes of the senses' before sentence B, 'To the thinking soul images serve as sense-perceptions', would to some extent clarify the place of images in this context. A further small point is that the δὲ at the beginning of sentence B in the Greek caused sufficient embarrassment for the alternative reading δὴ to be found in one manuscript and in Philoponus' lemma.

It is worth noting that at 431a12, where both τοῦτο and ταῦτό have manuscript support, Averroes has *hoc*.

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